

VERSUS STATE

organ of the political action caucus

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POLITICAL ANALYSIS

Understanding state and local politics is essential to a successful ideological development of the libertarian political movement.

A distinguishing characteristic of libertarian newsletters and magazines, particularly those of the Libertarian Party, is their near total neglect of political analysis at the state and local level. The Washington State Libertarian Party newsletter Reason and Liberty is nearly devoid of analysis or even mention of political affairs within the state. In fact, the last two issues of R&L contained nary a word on the crucial races, initiatives and referendums on the ballot this year. The political torpidity of R&L is a reflection of the moribund condition of the LP's ideological level of development. This lack of understanding and involvement is astounding in the context of crucial ballot issues which are being fought tooth-and-nail in Washington this year. In spite of the LPWS's torpid and myopic condition, non-libertarians have been able to launch initiative drives and campaign successful enough to virtually cripple the tax base of state government. Where is the LPWS in all this? Sleeping, and apparently unaware, of course!

Washington State is presently the focal point of a number of key political and legal battles whose outcomes will not only have a critical impact on the future of this state's political-economy but on the course of political and legal strategies in federal, state and municipal governments throughout the country. Although the mayoralty, county executive and state legislative races are getting the preponderance of media attention because of their "human interest" appeal, the real issues are boiling underneath. For example, initiative measures 345 and 348 could deny the state over 400 million dollars in revenue in the coming biennium. In essence, this would deflate highway

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VERSUS STATE is published and edited by members of the Political Action Caucus of Washington State. This journal is dedicated to the formulation of radical anti-statist political ideology. VERSUS STATE is responding to the dearth of analysis and synthesis of concrete political-economic problems facing the anti-statist movement. Most libertarian organs have failed to present treatment of the salient political, military and revolutionary alternatives for opposing the oppression of the State. The anti-statist intellectual movement has shown little capacity for translating abstract philosophical premises into practical ideological programs of political action. VERSUS state will stress the development of tactical and strategic thought towards the worldwide struggle for liberty. VERSUS STATE is meant to be a forum of theory and practice for those involved in the frontline of political struggle. It will also deal with more abstract philosophical topics of a direct relevance to the anti-statist movement.

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expansion programs, and more importantly, deny state support for the already tottering public school system and state universities.

Of the two initiatives, 345 is the more dangerous to state revenues. Sponsored by a coalition of populist-democrats and liberal church organizations, it passed easily in the November 8th election. According to the State House Speaker John Bagnariol, abolition of the sales tax on food will deny approximately 167 million dollars during the next biennium. The greatest impact would be suffered in the state's General Fund which pays for the public school system as well as the Department of Social and Health Services -- the monstrous welfare boondoggle agency built up during Republican Governor Daniel Evan's stay in office. The situation is indeed delicate, if not downright embarrassing for the liberal wing of the Democratic Party in this state who have spearheaded the drive for vastly expanded state-supported funding of local schools.

The impetus for the 1.6 billion dollar biennial state school funding comes from last year's ruling by Thurston County Superior Court Judge Robert J. Doran making special levies to support "regular" school programs unconstitutional. In a similar ruling to that of New Jersey Court, which required the institution of a state income tax before schools could be reopened, it takes away the legal right of local taxpayers who now support public schools

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THE PAC WILL GO TO BOEING STOCKHOLDER'S MEETING

We hate Communism and we'll do everything we can to oppose the spread of red tyranny. Thus, when Carl Olson of the SWF and the SAGB asked for our help in cooling-off the present sickening U.S. corporate ardor for commie bootlicking, we mobilized in support. We hope these efforts will be mounted throughout the non-Communist world. The PAC strongly supports the work of the Coalition Opposing Soviet Tyranny (COST) in California.

The Political Action Caucus will act as proxy to propose a resolution to protect the Boeing Corporation from Communist influence via directorships and security holdings. Two representatives of the PAC will attend the annual Boeing stockholder's meeting on May 1, 1978 and propose that citizens of communist countries and members of communist political parties shall be barred from directorship of the corporation and that no communist government or citizen may be offered debt or equity security in the corporation. We think this action is fully in line with libertarian principles and a most practical political action as well. This is not a government action on corporations, it is a proposal on corporation policy submitted to the stockholders for their voluntary choice. It is a first towards protecting U.S. industry from Communist exploitation and sabotage. In the future, when our forces grow, we can pass proposals forbidding arms and technology sales to the Communist slave regimes.

The PAC will also be presenting on a proxy basis the Stockholders Against the Government Burden with a proposal to require the Boeing Company to separately account for the cost of government in its operations. The Stockholders for World Freedom can be contacted by writing to: Carl Olson, 4623 San Feliciano Drive, Woodland Hills, CA 91364 or the Coalition Opposing Soviet Tyranny, P.O. Box 103 Calabasas, CA 91302. Or phone (213) 883-1675.

through property taxes to decide in local levy elections the merits of education budgets. Although 43 states in the U.S. now have state income taxes (as well as municipal income taxes in many cases); Washington has successfully remained the most "regressive" state revenue system in the country. After an overwhelming rejection of a corporate income tax initiative last year, the forces of unlimited public spending have sought in desperation to make an "end run" around the constitutional limits on state deficits.

In addition to their problems in the public school system, greatly exacerbated by federal desegregation policies requiring expensive pupil busing to achieve racial quota goals, the state legislature is faced by an almost unresolvable state pension deficit of 350 million dollars for 1977-1979.

Democratic partisan support for 345 has split party ranks and is symptomatic of the growing division afflicting the leading party in the state and nation. Although the Democratic Party has long had a plank advocating the demise of the sales tax on food as "regressive", its liberal and conservative wings have advocated its repeal only within the context of tax reform i.e. a state income tax. Demo leaders (and not a few Republicans for other reasons) are quite reasonably afraid that voter sentiment in Washington is opposed to any new taxes and that repeal will only lead to unconstitutional deficits and hamper the support of government construction projects and bureaucracy -- both of which are traditional bases of support for the Demos. A recent poll showed only 45.3% support for an income tax on the proviso of repeal of other taxes. Thus, the Democrats must face a painful division pitting the King County Democratic Council against Demo Governor Dixie Lee Ray, Seattle Mayor Wes Uhlman and Speaker of the House John Bagnariol.

In this context, Initiative 345 will be devastating to government expansionists but it will also promote the call for "tax reform" and specifically for a graduated income tax. This latter was the pretext for a number of libertarians and fiscal conservatives who misguidedly voted against 345 for fear it would be used to rationalize passage of an income tax. This betrays, on their part, a lack of tactical and strategic understanding of the situation. Aside from the ethical desirability of opposing any and all taxes, repeal of the tax on food offers the following salubrious political effects and opportunities: (1) it denies money to the state apparatus, thus, freezing hiring in all departments (already Governor Ray has restricted government travel and conferences and has frozen hiring); (2) it has a chilling effect on the state university propaganda machine (who will lose 17% of their state funds due to 345) and on the ambitions of the public school bureaucracy; (3) it places pressure on county and municipal bureaucracies who will suffer cutbacks in state appropriations, thus, weakening "planning" staffs and expansion of "services"; (4) it sends a "message" to anti-tax initiative forces in other states; (5) it chills the tendencies of all legislators (including those in the U.S. Congress) to advocate increased spending or new programs and it enhances the fortunes of fiscal conservatives in both parties in winning seats of leadership within the apparatus of partisan power; (6) it places more money (both in proportional and absolute terms) in middle class hands available for other political fights; and (7) it gives renewed confidence to the large sector of anti-government non-voters who gave up opposition to statist rapacity and no longer vote.

What most libertarians, particularly those who run the State party, fail to understand, is the process of political change. It was the failure of public school levies which exacerbated the present situation and it is the passage of 345 which will force the enemy into an even more untenable situation. So what if the statists come out fighting like cornered rats! When have they not? Now we have an opportunity to push them closer to the wall and push them we must!

Undoubtedly, there will be attempts to raise revenue by increasing the Business and Occupation Tax or by raising other categories of sales tax on clothing, furniture, housing and medicine. But these will be half-hearted attempts because of their political inexpediency and, thus, much easier to fight. The real fight will come when they try to foist an income tax, then we must mobilize every force from all over the country to defeat it. This is what the Libertarian Party should and must do -- if it still lives! This is what it should have done against Governor Byrne of New Jersey.

Added to the difficulties of the sales tax on food repeal is the attempt to abolish the recent two-cent per gallon increase on gas to finance highway, bridge construction and ferry systems in the state. Initiative 348, which gained ballot status after a feverish five day 200,000 signature gathering campaign, appears to have been defeated in a very close outcome. Opponents of the initiative which included, not only every bureaucrat, but construction unions and road contractors as well, proclaimed it would result in the loss of 60 million dollars in state revenue but also up to one billion dollars in federal aid and 400 million in interstate highway funds. Otherwise "conservative" persons and organizations such as the Association of Washington Business and the Chamber of Commerce came out of the woodwork to fight 348 with a campaign budget ten-fold that of its supporters. Big government, labor and business all marched together in an effort to stomp out this populist measure.

Unfortunately, the organizers of 348 led by King County Tax Assessor Harley Hoppe, split their capacities unnecessarily in launching Mr. Hoppe's simultaneous campaign for King County Executive as an independent against the strong two-term Republican incumbent John Spellman. In all likelihood, the Hoppe strategy (which grows out of a group he heads called ROAST - Responsible and Organized Approach to State Taxes) was to profit from the tremendous coverage gained by 348 in his bid for county executive. The strategy, though good in concept, was poorly executed and suffered from bad planning. It alienated the entire Republican apparatus against him and lost support for 348. Hoppe's staff and funding was split in the face of awesome opposition. Another problem which was predictable was the media's hostility to Hoppe's "maverick flamboyance" (code for free enterprise stance and rejection of suborning principle to partisan affiliation). Poor coverage by the media required heavy campaign funds for advertising -- funds which Hoppe did not have. The result was his coming in third place in a three-way race and a heartbreaking loss of 348.

The failure to repeal the variable gas tax increase was due to resistance by otherwise fiscally conscious eastern Washington rural voters who want roads and improvements, as well as, local revenues from construction projects. We must remember that back in November of 1976 before passage of the two cent a gallon increase to 12 cents, the "Highway Lobby" with support

of eastern Washington conservative legislator Sam Guess was looking forward to a raise to 14 cents a gallon . This is another reason why money for a media campaign was vitally needed to arouse the anti-highway sentiment in western Washington. Hoppe's campaigns were late starting and poorly organized in their fund drives.

A number of other issues led to a high voter turnout in an "offyear" election. The most important is Initiative 59 which limits the licensing of public water appropriations for private agricultural irrigation to farms of 2000 acres or less. The initiative which barely passed, was authored by the Grange Association with the avowed purpose of denying large "agri-business" corporate farming enterprises from dominating irrigation lands. Expansions of irrigated lands in the Columbia Basin in this state alone could add more than four million acres. The opposition to large mechanized and highly efficient corporate farms staffed by transient migrant workers is based on emotional and pseudo-traditionalist arguments for preservation of the "family farm" and local retention of profits. Similar attacks on agri-business are taking place in other states, and, most importantly, in the re-imposition of an archaic federal statute limiting water rights to farms of 160 acres or less in the Imperial Valley. These restrictions will have devastating consequences for agricultural productivity.

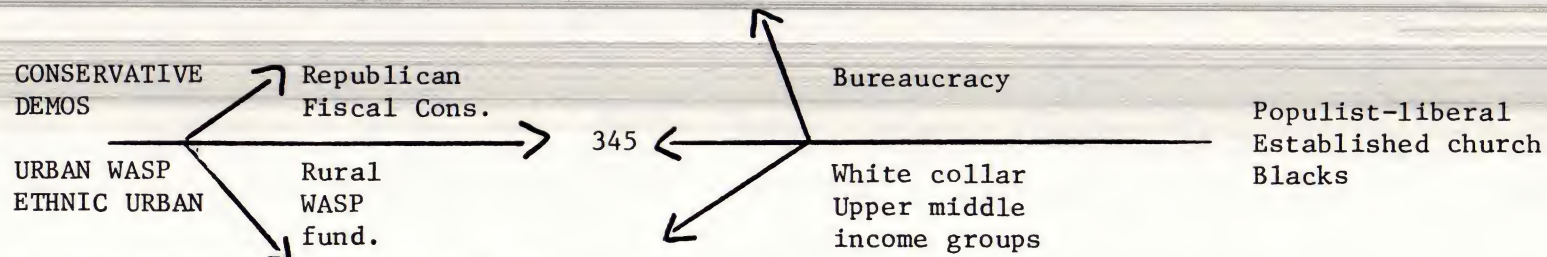
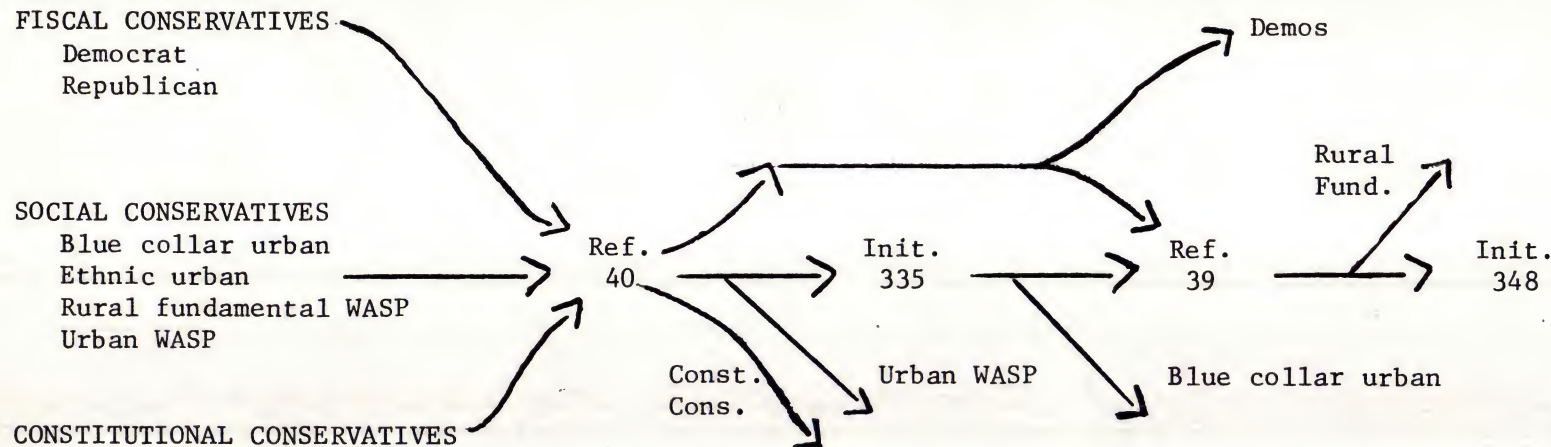
The election returns represent a curious pattern of converging and, at times, seemingly contradictory voter sentiment on the issues. It is possible to discern some relationships in the voter population as it relates to bloc patterning. The overall impression provided by the election is a strong movement (in conventional terms) to the "right" i.e. to what is mistakenly called in the United States "conservatism". The biggest victors were the forces of "social conservatism" -- those who are more concerned for the preservation of the traditional institutions of family, church and state order at any price. In this election they were able to impose censorship through the prohibition of places which have as their principal stock in trade -- lewd and "obscene" materials. This, they contended, was necessary to protect family values and moral attitudes (see articles in this issue on PAC II and the rebuttal against Hempelman). They also won stunning upset victories against Referendum 40 which would have established a Women's Commission to mitigate against unfair legal discrimination of women.

The photo-finish passage of Initiative 59, which was portrayed as an effort to preserve the "family farm", divided the fiscal conservatives (and just about everyone of good sense) from the social conservatives and brought them into a not too unlikely alliance (from a philosophical perspective) with the rabidly anti-capitalist and anti-technological "environmentalist" group.

The conservative odyssey is schematized in a hypothetical sequence of choices by what might be called the various "tribes" of the "right". In this "Ideological Map of Conservatives", I have attempted to identify the sub-groupings ("tribes") of the right and their behavior.

There can be little doubt that everyone with the slightest bit of traditionalist, religionist, conservative anti-bureaucratic leanings converged to beat down the Women's Commission. Led by a group called "Women for

IDEOLOGICAL MAP OF CONSERVATIVES
IN THE 1977 WASHINGTON STATE ELECTION



EXPLANATION: The upper map shows all conservative "tribes" converging to defeat Referendum 40 (State Women's Commission) with an overwhelming vote. The emotional "save the family" and anti-bureaucratic appeals to the pocketbook unified the "right". The conservatives split on 335 (anti-pornography) with a majority vote smaller by 132,000. Social conservatives were joined by suburban moderates responding to the spread of X-rated movie theaters. Social conservatives are rejoined by fiscal conservative Republicans (minus Demo fiscal conservatives) and minus blue collar unionists who voted for it along with the radical liberal. Rural eastern Washington fundamentalists and many fiscal conservatives leave the conservatives on 348 (repealing the gas tax). Remaining hardcore conservative bloc is joined by Margaret Tunks-type anti-highway environmentalists. The bottom line represents convergence on 345 (repeal tax on food) with Republican fiscal conservatives, rural wasp split off from the "right" and the bureaucracy and white collar upper middle splits off from the "left" to oppose the measure.

STATISTICAL TABLE ON REFERENDUM AND
INITIATIVE RETURNS NOVEMBER 1977

PAC VOTE	VOTE RANK	BALLOT ITEM	VICTORY MARGIN	CONTEST TYPE	VICTORY TYPE
YES! PAC WINS	1.	I. 345 <u>Anti-food sales tax</u>		Welfare-populist & fiscal cons. vs. State welfarist & school lobby.	Populist and fiscal conservative.
		Yes 483,316	53%		
		No 412,154	47%		
		Total 895,470	71,162		
NO! PAC LOSES	2.	I. 335 <u>Anti-obscenity</u>		Social cons. and suburb moderates vs. libs & cons.	Social conservatives.
		Yes 482,242	54%		
		No 402,358	46%		
		Total 884,600	79,884		
		Drop 10,870			
YES! PAC LOSES	3.	I. 348 <u>Anti-gas tax increase</u>		Fiscal cons. & urban libs vs. Highway Lobby & eastern rural.	Highway Lobby and rural eastern Washington
		Yes 436,370	49%		
		No 441,623	51%		
		Total 877,993	5,253		
		Drop 6,617			
NO PAC WINS	4.	R. 39 <u>Voter registration</u>		Demo. party & big labor vs. Repubs. & bipartisan cons.	Republicans conservatives.
		Yes 285,656	32%		
		No 587,927	68%		
		Total 867,577	296,265		
		Drop 10,416			
NO PAC WINS	5.	R. 40 <u>Women's Commission</u>		Feminist, sexual minorities & radical liberals vs. social & fiscal cons.	Conservatives.
		Yes 242,874	28%		
		No 615,870	72%		
		Total 858,744	372,996		
		Drop 8,833			
NO! PAC LOSES	6.	I. 59 <u>Family farm water</u>		Social conservative small farmers, en- vironmentlists vs. developmental bloc of big labor & in- dustry & urban consumer.	Grange, social- environmentalists.
		Yes 422,037	50%		
		No 408,152	49%		
		Total 830,183	13,879		
		Drop 28,567			

Integrity in the Nation" (WIN), the opposition claimed that the commission would be used to propagate radical feminist positions on homosexuality and to attack the basis of the family. They argued that this state had already passed the Equal Rights Amendment and didn't need a \$200,000 a year bureaucracy. Their tactics worked unbelievably well. This comes on the heels of the feminist debacle at the Ellensburg Women's Conference (which was barnstormed at the last moment by 4000 religious fundamentalist and conservative women) and has dealt a critical blow to the vaunted prestige of the radical feminist establishment in this state.

But what is surprising is that the "conservative" vote is obviously split over the ban on obscenity. All that can be assumed is that the anti-radical feminist and anti-bureaucratic forces bloc is far less coherent over the matter of censorship. And yet it was the same people who voted on all issues since the drop-off (called "drop" on the table) was only around 5% at the greatest. Thus, 95% or more voted on all these issues. The massive 615,870 who voted thumbs-down on the "radical feminist" Women's Commission weakens to a still strong 587,927 -- a transparently anti-labor and anti-Democratic coalition (and a surprisingly large one). It dwindles, however, to 482,242 on the highly emotive issue of banning porno. The conservative bloc remains almost the same but slightly greater on repeal of the sales tax on food and dwindles by nearly 47,000 to repeal the gas tax. It is in these non-partisan issues that we can best observe the true ideological behavior of the Washington conservative voter.

The sharp fall-off in conservative support of 335 is a good indication of the impact of the People Against Censorship against 335 as a bad law. It also demonstrates the bloc susceptible to such constitutional and anti-statist blandishments may number about 132,000. On the other hand, it also points to a hardcore feminist establishment and allies of 240,000 -- a figure in the same vicinity with the 285,000 who voted for voter registration. It can be theorized that some 25,000 blue collar union voters fractured from the social conservative mainline to join with the feminists and radical-liberals to support easier voter registration. We can also detect a hard-line anti-tax bloc of between 436-482,000. Inside this bloc may be a strong pro-capitalist economic growth bloc of over 400,000 as reflected in the water-rights vote.

All of these interpretations are, of course, hypothetical and subjective. Additional data is necessary for a more precise and certain analysis of voter patterns in Washington. Still, we can tentatively conclude that the day of unrestrained government growth, at least in its acceptability at the polls, is over. The Washington voter, if any composite picture can be drawn as Weberian "ideal type", is a "conservative liberal". He (or she) is willing to support big government but with a strong sense of "fiscal responsibility". The Washington voter is highly sophisticated and is willing to vote on a mass of complex issues. He is influenced by intellectual arguments, especially where his economic interests are concerned. There is also a very strong concern for "environmental"-communitarian-civic values. Although the Washington voter rarely considers the basic premises or defines these "values" he is extremely attuned to the politician who takes a careful approach to the issues.

It is our view in the Political Action Caucus that no adequate ideological program for the libertarian political movement can be effective unless

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SIG FIGHT

TACTICS AND STRATEGY OF A SMALL POLITICAL GUERRILLA BAND

The People Against Censorship (PAC II) has fought a long and arduous campaign against the passage of Initiative Measure 335 in Washington State. 335 did pass, unfortunately, but with a relatively narrow margin of voter support.

Soon after the founding of the Political Action Caucus in early February of this year we started brainstorming for productive avenues of political investment. We had often discussed the necessity of developing effective special interest group (SIG) strategies for broadening the base of the libertarian movement and increasing our political impact. The old guard of the Libertarian Party of Washington State, although paying lip service to the idea of a SIG strategy, were too cautious and lethargic to implement anything as complex. The height of their strategy in this State culminated in an abortive attempt to gain ballot status for an initiative measure to repeal the state sales tax in toto. They failed to study the situation and, thus, blundered into the complex arena of "tax reform" losing several thousand dollars in campaign funds. Another group has demonstrated how to go about organizing a successful initiative drive to repeal taxes by limiting their repeal to the tax on food. Their initiative (345), although facing heavy resistance, passed handily this year. The LPWS has shown total ignorance of SIG tactics.

Having jumped all over the party insiders for their narrowness, but having failed to bring the state party apparatus under our control, we decided to act on our own. There exists a number of perennial and short-term issues in Washington which offer opportunities for skillful involvement. Even in the Free Space Colonizer days of old we had taken over a public meeting on the Shoreline Management Act (which abrogates the property rights of shoreline landowners) and turned it into a debacle for the Seattle City Council. The Political Action Caucus, however, was searching for issues which offered far more than momentary bright flashes of philosophical rhetoric. Our intent was to make our political capital grow. This is where we differed so greatly from the LPWS clique -- we were no longer satisfied with mere pro forma political stances. We wanted to build a network of political capacities which could generate political capital.

As examples of the alternatives available, we could have focussed our energies on the school tax issue or in several land-use battles which were smoldering. Each one was studied (and continues to be studied). They did not offer the short-term opportunities necessary for a small organization. We had to build our resources fast and, thus, we needed quick gains. Our criteria for selecting our initial SIG strategy revolved around these considerations: is the issue viable for both short and long-range returns, in terms of money, volunteers, ideological experience-building; could the issue provide us with the SIG loyalty of grateful clients to wield as a bloc in other actions; would the issue provide a relatively quick resolution with intense media coverage; would there be competition from already established SIG groups? Another consideration, more exotic, was its potential for future underground development. In a very real sense, we were engaging in political guerrilla warfare. We had to attack the weakest and most overextended position of the statist forces which could gain us supplies, ammunition, few losses and attain allies

from the ranks of the oppressed. At the same time we wanted to gain the most advantage from indirection and surprise.

At the time, a little-publicized initiative measure for the prohibition of places which derived their major stock in trade from the sale of "obscene" materials was being circulated among religious fanatics to gain the necessary 124,000 signatures for ballot status in the November elections. Washington is one of the 22 states in the U.S. which affords the electorate the legal right to amend and overrule the legislature through the initiative process. An identical initiative (329) had failed in the previous year and most media pundits gave it little chance of passage this time around. Few initiatives ever make the ballot.

We of the Political Action Caucus, in spite of our preoccupation with the bitter six month battle with the Party extending from October 1976 to mid April of 1977, took note of the numerous advantages offered by a SIG campaign against 335. At the core, was the fact that an entire industry -- the "adult entertainment" movie houses and bookstores, massage parlors, go-go taverns and peep shows would be closed and confiscated. Surely there would be funds for a campaign. In addition, the initiative was drafted so ambiguously that it threatened coercion and intimidation of non-porno activities such as "gay bars" and other forms of entertainment. Obviously, the industry people could not fight 335 themselves -- they needed a citizen campaign to front the fight. And of course there was the censorship issue and the denial of due process, property rights, etc. Just as importantly, nobody else seemed to want any part of this affair. As the Mayor of Seattle put it, "opposing this initiative (335) is like opposing motherhood and apple pie." The field was clear!

Our assumptions were correct in general terms, but our knowledge of specific local conditions was deficient. The "interests" involved and their determination of their "interests" were far more complex and shadowy than we could have guessed. After studying the initiative and consulting with a lawyer, we drafted our first statement of opposition. Meanwhile we engaged in a dialogue with the "concerned" porno entrepreneurs.

Aside from a handful of individuals, the porno dealers were the most pathetic creatures imaginable. Their first reaction to the initiative, "if we say nothing it will blow over" and "if it doesn't we'll fight it in court." We provided them with powerful evidence that: (a) the initiative would in all probability make the ballot because it was well financed and spearheaded by a crusading and articulate young lawyer-politico and (b) the initiative, although faulty, vicious and unfair, was based on the Miller case and would probably stand appeal. Still these weasel-browed characters decided to lay low. Decades of police harassment and public invective had had the effect of a cultural selection process leaving behind an entrepreneurial population consisting of cunning and crafty denizens of the tenderloin jungle. No bold capitalist fighters here! And certainly little money for a bold counter-attack!

Our first forays into the porno-dealer crowd did produce some funds, free office space and promise of future support. In addition, we were getting considerable media coverage. Volunteers and small cash contributions were sustaining our shoestring operation. By late March we were concerned, but still hopeful, of large cash support. Our expectations were to be dashed,

however, by hidden forces. Negotiations with multimillionaire movie porn king Roger Forbes proved fruitless. He asserted that 335 would fail to make the ballot, and that even if it became law, it could be beaten in the courts besides, he wouldn't support an effort unless it had the backing of the Theatre Owners Association (TOA).

Thus, began our long negotiations with Fred Danz, the kingpin of the TOA and owner of the Sterling Recreation Organization, a conglomerate of theatre chains and cable TV and other ventures. In addition, we were soliciting help from Hugh Hefner of Playboy Magazine, Bob Guccione of Penthouse, and Larry Flynt of Hustler. Although Playboy strung us along promising us aid and editorial support, they ultimately let us down. Only the beleaguered and feisty Flynt sent a 1500 letter mailing to in-state subscribers. Much later we sent a 7500 letter mailing to in-state Penthouse subscribers.

All during this time, we were attempting to build a coalition without losing our identity. The ACLU wanted to take over our operation right from the start. They resented our libertarian parentage and proposed a "steering committee" with representatives of left-wing controlled dummy organizations, thus, in a majority position to out-vote us on policy while profiting from our work. Right from the start, the ACLU wanted to replace our staffers with "professional" (translate: ACLU operatives) organizers. In sum, their people would get the pay and the prestige. Realizing their game, we stalled them for months, thus, buying time for building our credibility. Meanwhile, the ACLU was covertly spreading the most outrageous slander against PAC II to our potential financial supporters.

Still, SRO and Forbes had verbally promised largescale support. We had developed detailed campaign plans and strategies and analyzed a thorough cost projection. In spite of our efforts and continued appearances on the media, our big potential contributors dropped their negotiations with us. Probably it was the scale of the campaign we were proposing. We envisioned a campaign costing around \$300,000. Everyone seemed to agree that was realistic and necessary. Finally, SRO's Fred Danz stopped negotiating.

In September, we prepared a new campaign proposal to present to the Washington Magazine Wholesalers Association. Our preparation was thorough and professional. We had lined up the best known political campaign advertising firm in the state, Ken Jacobson, and the direct mail capacities of Alan Gottlieb's Mail Media. We also had other top legal and marketing talent. Meanwhile, the ACLU, realizing that our "little group" was overcoming obstacles and becoming a real power in the censorship issue, was organizing a desperate bid to snatch the campaign from us. Almost overnight they concocted the League Insuring Freedom of Expression (LIFE) and stepped-up their campaign of lies and innuendo against us. They asserted, for instance, that Angela Basta had stolen the name "People Against Censorship" from them and intended to keep the campaign funds for herself. There were, of course, all kinds of innuendos about anarchism and "free love". Whereas the ACLU had been lax in the beginning, they invested considerable resources in LIFE paying a campaign manager \$1,000 per month and providing large office facilities. More importantly, the ACLU has a vast network of left-wing and liberal contacts -- many of whom hold political office. We were, in essence, competing with the entire Fabian establishment. We had invaded their turf. Censorship, after all, had been their unchallenged SIG territory for ages. But, surprise! Here our little libertarian political guerrilla band had

moved through the uncharted swamps of porn censorship and blue law revivalism to threaten the ACLU citadel of censorship. Having other, more lucrative, or pressing battles to fight, such as, homosexual rights or feminist issues, the ACLU had been loathe to face 335, never thinking we could last, or be so successful in continuously depriving them of the media spotlight.

Then our battle started in earnest. We met head-on in the office of the kingpin of magazine distributors. Our presentation was superior, and so was our command of facts, and tactics. We pointed out that the ACLU-LIFE strategy was directed at radical liberals who would oppose 335 in any case, but that a conservative-middle-of-the-road strategy aimed at constitutional and business enterprise issues was necessary to cool down support for 335 while building our own electoral turnout. Our strategy was based on a study of electoral, economic and political characteristics in the congressional districts. The ACLU-LIFE representative had no comparable plan. Still, the immense paraphernalia of pull was on their side. The Playboy Foundation which had been influenced by Rockefeller Foundation money to support the ACLU group promised LIFE \$4,000 just prior to our meeting. In turn, this hypnotized the policy-makers of the Magazine Wholesalers Association (who, it should be added, only contributed \$500).

As a result, the LIFE group has been able to gain some \$30,000 in funding. It is small potatoes in this game, and too late, and insufficient to effectively counter 335. But most of this money will remain in ACLU coffers to finance their causes. In spite of the fact that PAC II has gained more media attention than LIFE, notwithstanding our impoverishment, the ACLU has been informing callers that our organization has been disbanded. This is, of course, rather ridiculous as our speakers have been appearing regularly twice a week on television and in the press.

The ACLU-LIFE campaign has centered in King County -- and has badly misrepresented the issues. Their posters portray 335 as censorship of National Geographic, Redbook, Newsweek, Time, Cosmopolitan, The Hite Report, Slaughterhouse Five and Love Story. Anyone with the slightest knowledge of the issue knows this is not true. This kind of propaganda can only degrade the campaign against 335. Exaggeration in an issue of this sort, in which the other side has all of the emotional marbles in its pocket, can only have the effect of crying "wolf". Not surprisingly the ACLU campaign almost failed to win King County which originally was expected to be solidly against the initiative.

Our development of the issues seriously hurt 335's chances of passage. Richard Slomon's debate with John Hempelmann on October 25th blasted all of their major arguments and was televised on November 5th just prior to election day. Admittedly, the initiative had great emotional appeal. The Decency in Environment/Entertainment Today (DIET) campaign supporting the anti-obscenity law, played on every emotional issue, especially the latest altruistic horror tale -- kidporn. Sentiment for moral "cleanup" has been amplified by the local media's "timely" revelations on boy prostitution in Seattle.

In spite of our disappointments, the campaign has not been a loss. Without resorting to all of the maudlin apologies for defeat and phony malarky rationalizations which have become the hallmark of libertarian campaigns, we can claim justifiably that our work has been partially successful. We made

money from outside the movement. We employed volunteers from outside the movement. We got more media coverage for our ideas by severalfold over any past libertarian campaign in this state. PAC II representatives appeared on television on at least ten different occasions for a total exposure of over two hours. Most of which was prime time. Our campaign generated over one-hundred mentions and interviews on radio and we received impressive reportage in newspapers throughout the state. Just as importantly, coverage was not all concentrated in a short time, as often occurs with libertarian campaigns when the press is searching for an oddity, our media appearances have been continuous.

Our campaign has been the most successful statewide campaign in the movement so far. More importantly for the future, we have an organization which is competing in areas of First Amendment protection where the ACLU dares not tread -- e.g. outdoor advertising, CB radio and opposition to FTC censorship. In spite of all their efforts, we have survived as a battle tested and campaign savvy unit. The next time (starting immediately!) we will have more credibility with financial supporters, and more know-how. We also have the names and addresses of supporters from all over the country. Our files on court cases, constitutional law and Supreme Court decisions are bulging, and we have a small arsenal of good debaters.

In terms of ideological advance, the anti-335 campaign has taught us the importance of in-depth planning and analysis. Often, it is nearly impossible to predict the specific obstacles which will take place. In fact, the very success of a campaign can induce fierce competition as was the case with the ACLU. For instance, when we first entered the fight, the 335 supporters began a rumor campaign that we were the puppets of "organized crime". They alleged that the mafia would bankroll a counter-campaign with millions of dollars. Later they backed down on that charge and focussed their attack on the ACLU group for accepting money from the porno magazine dealer organization. The ACLU would probably have refrained from making such a vigorous entry had we not achieved such opulent media coverage. Much of this resulted from well-organized press releases and conferences. Our press releases provided the first legal analysis of the initiative and clearly exposed the dangerous provisions which threatened the very existence of gay bars and various other non-porno enterprises. The ACLU, and everyone else, was scared stiff of fighting 335 until we showed them its political weak points. Early in the campaign we showed that the true opposition constituency was not merely the radical liberals but the conservatives. Seeing an opportunity for media coverage, funding and victory, the ACLU jumped in at the last minute. They even tried to lure us into a "Coalition Against Censorship" (CAC to replace PAC). We refused, of course!

This had the unforeseeable consequences of developing a strange chummy-ness on the part of the DIET people for PAC II. On the one hand, they figured us for the weak sister, and on the other hand, they hated the leftist sympathies of the ACLU. Of course, this played into our hands, with DIET asking to debate PAC on TV rather than LIFE. DIET soon found out, however, to its despair, that our attack was pernicious to their conservative base of support. They may have lost 132,000 supporters because of it (see article on Washington Politics in this issue).

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SLOMON SPEAKS

CENSURING THE CENSORERS!

On the evening of October 25th Richard Slomon debated John Hempelmann, main speaker for DIET (Decency in Environment/Entertainment Today), over the desirability of Initiative 335 which would prohibit places selling pornographic materials. By most accounts, Mr. Slomon soundly demolished Mr. Hempelmann's position. The text of Mr. Slomon's first ten minute statement, portions of which were televised several times is presented below.

Initiative 335 constitutes censorship and violates the First Amendment which clearly states that "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press". I contend that the present U.S. Supreme Court doctrine formulated in the Miller-vs-California case of June, 1974 is spurious and unconstitutional. Any state or local statute, as in the case of Initiative 335, founded on the Miller doctrine, is morally wrong and unconstitutional. In fundamental terms, 335 relies on the emotional exploitation of popular logical fallacies. It is demagoguery raised to the level of law-making. 335, if passed, will not alleviate the problems which its supporters claim it addresses, but it will, in fact, aggravate criminal activities, as well as accelerate the decline of liberty and justice.

The supporters of 335 claim that it is necessary to invoke censorship over at least hardcore pornographic materials to protect something they call the, and I quote, "the public morality". They imply that in this case the "ends do justify the means", that is to say, that the abrogation of First Amendment rights and sacrifice of individual legal rights is necessary to gain some higher value. Sensing that this position is fundamentally questionable, the advocates of porno censorship claim that the First Amendment does not cover "obscenity". This claim is advanced in spite of there being no explicit exception mentioned or implied in the entire U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights. "Obscenity" has never been defined in logical and objective terms and is, in fact, impossible to define objectively, EVEN BY THE ADMISSION OF SUPREME COURT JUSTICES ADVOCATING CENSORSHIP OF OBSCENITY!

But if "obscenity" escapes logical definition, it is certainly equaled in its woolyheaded turbidity by the notion of "public morality". Even civic planners and bureaucrats have a guarded sneer for the objective worth of the term "public", and even the most rabid collectivist intellectuals have shied away from attributing substance to the abstract subjective notion of "public". Moral choices are made by individuals and individuals suffer or benefit the consequences. A fact well in evidence to individual taxpayers who are increasingly impoverished for the so-called "public good". In the phenomenal, objective world, the world which concerns law anyway, there exists no third entity above individuals which enjoys rights of itself. And this WAS the underlying idea of our Constitutionally-defined, limited, republican form of government. The law and the state were to be concerned with the protection of citizens from objective physical infringements of other persons...certainly not from the consequences to themselves of their own voluntary actions and choices.

But what Mr. Hempelmann and the advocates of censorship really mean by

"public morality" is an amalgamation of sectarian religious prejudices and sexual mores of an intolerantly bigoted and authoritarian stratum which is vocally intimidative, affluent and has political pull...and seeks to enforce its values by police power over others. This notion totally contradicts our Constitutional division of Church and State. The moral fallacy of their position is so obvious, however, that spiritual leaders such as Billy Graham, who is certainly no friend of porn, have voiced opposition to censorship FOR ANY REASON! I respect Mr. Graham for opposing this "ends justifying the means" tactic which is the death of all morality. America is not a theocracy and should not become one.

The advocates of 335 claim that hardcore pornography must be censored to mitigate violent sexual crimes, personal lechery, the decline of the family unit, divorce, promiscuity, juvenile delinquency, and venereal disease. Aside from the fact that the overwhelming conclusion of scientific research is that no cause and effect relationship exists between porn and negative conduct, there would still be no legitimate moral or constitutional basis for prohibition even if porn did, in fact, cause crime. If we admit to the implied logic of 335, then we should ban banks and money for motivating embezzlement and robbery, and high cholesterol foods for promoting cardiovascular disorders. There's no end to the forms of government intervention induced by the 335 doctrine. But more to the point, why not censor Marxism which has historically -- and there is no doubt about this -- led to violence and the destruction of moral standards on a vast scale. The Communist Manifesto has killed more people than porno has titillated. One wonders, why Mr. Hempelmann and his friends have not sponsored a law to close Suzallo Library or gag leftist professors. The only thing which prevents them, I suspect, is the political inexpediency of the undertaking at this time. Hardcore porn is an easy scapegoat like the jews in Germany, or like big business is today in America. It's an easy political victory for the ambitious politician -- an easy wedge to place between a people's wise respect for abstract constitutional safeguards and their emotional desire for quick panaceas for complex and pressing problems.

And this is part of the motivation behind the Miller decision. Nobody, even the slim majority of five justices who concocted the decision, is satisfied with its definition of obscenity. A definition which depends on concrete particulars such as, and I quote, "patently offensive representations of masturbation, excretory functions and lewd exhibition of the genitals". It attempts to generalize somewhat by referring to "patently offensive ultimate sexual acts". This pathetic so-called definition so utterly begs the question that Miller does not stand a snowball's chance in hell of not being reversed or of substantial modification. Miller, among its many faults and ambiguities, has created a nightmare of jurisdictional problems with its quote "contemporary community standards". This clause invites an endless warfare of contending vigilantee mobs, benighted local judges and municipal bureaucrats all imposing their own theories of obscenity. Mayor Rizzo is already trying to ban Playboy in Philadelphia and Mayor Perk of Cincinnati had garbage men taking a poll on porn. Miller is sheer insanity. If it is temporarily the quote "law of the land", as Mr. Hempelmann is likely to sanctimoniously invoke, it is a law like Dred Scott or Plessy-vs-Ferguson. It is a law on its way out! Essentially, Miller is the McCarthyism of sex.

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the gop

THE WHIGS GREW OUT OF THE FEDERALISTS AND REPUBLICANS EVOLVED FROM THE WHIGS? WRONG!

Did the Republican Party historically grow out of the Whig Party as so many libertarians are prone to believe, or did it, as a careful analysis of history would lead us to conclude, result from a complex of forces, which will never again be duplicated? If so, is the jejeune expectation of so many Libertarian Party activists advancing the LP as heir-apparent to the Grand Old Party at all well-founded? Mr. Tyler thinks it is not.

A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON THE AUTHOR:

Mr. Galen Tyler is Chef de Cabinet of the Political Action Caucus and has been long active in libertarian causes. He holds a BA degree from the University of Washington in political science and he is presently studying for an MBA in business and finance. Mr. Tyler presented a thorough and masterful overview of general strategy and tactics for the anti-statist movement at the PAC's Northwest Radical Anarchocapitalist Conference in August. We expect that Galen will be a steady contributor to this organ as he is thoroughly imbued with the mission of the Creator Class and a talented political worker.

Many political activists believe that a Libertarian or Conservative party will replace the modern day Republicans. These activists often cite the historical examples of the Federalists "evolving" into the Whigs and the Whigs transforming into the Republicans. These assumptions are incorrect and mislead the anti-statist movement into erroneous rationalizations and bad tactics.

In the early days of the American republic, the Federalists controlled the Presidency, Congress and several state houses. Aristocratic, pro-British and anti laissez-faire, the Federalists gained the vast bulk of their strength from the Northeast. The steady addition of new western states, as well as superior Democratic-Republican organizations in key states like New York and Virginia, permitted Jefferson to end the federalists hold on the Presidency in 1800. By the time of Jefferson's re-election in 1804, the Federalists were able to carry only Connecticut and Delaware.

Much of the strength of the emerging Democratic-republican party, (hereafter Republican), was due to the importance that the Republicans placed upon winning local and state elections. Between Adams' victory in 1796 and Jefferson's in 1800, the Republicans consolidated their power in the Virginia General Assembly, upon a governorship in Pennsylvania, and began building a political machine in the other key state of New York. While New England was considered a Federalist stronghold, the Republicans were quite willing to expand into the mid-Atlantic states, also considered Federalist country. The Federalists invested little in the "West" and "South" and conceded these as

Republican strongholds.

Also present was the Republican ability to co-opt the Federalists program. An interesting example is the issue of internal improvements such as canals, roads and dams. The Federalists tended to support such programs, as well as the national bank and a liberal view of the Constitution. In fact, the Republicans were able to implement many of these programs themselves. The purchase of Louisiana is an example of Jefferson's ability to "stretch the Constitution until it cracked".² On the local level, the Republicans were quite willing to institute projects calling for large government outlays.³

By 1804 the Federalists were largely extinct. Jefferson won an electoral victory of 162 to 14. In the House their margin was 116 to 25, and in the Senate it was 27 to 7. In both houses the Republicans maintained a better than two-to-one margin until the formal collapse of the Federalists in 1825.

The success of the Republicans (or as it was called by 1824, the National Republicans) was the ultimate cause of its downfall. The first signs of this trouble occurred in 1808 when Clinton of New York and Madison and Monroe of Virginia competed for the Republican nomination. Many Republicans, such as Randolph of Virginia, complained that the Jefferson administration had deviated from Party policies in order to win Federalist votes. Madison was viewed by many as the culprit in watering-down Republican principles.⁴

The Republicans enjoyed complete control of the Presidency. Politics was dominated by political machines; the two most notable were the Richmond Junto in Virginia and VanBuren's clique in New York. Unlike Jefferson and Hamilton, Party leaders were no longer involved in ideological clashes, and sought to maintain themselves by the use of discipline, patronage, and superior organizational strategies. This entire period was marked by low voter turnout and high public apathy. The new leaders were quick to see that, while the Republican success was widely acknowledged and difficult to challenge, there were strong undercurrents of alienation and conflict.

Not the least of these was the strong individuals that yearned for the Presidency; men such as Adams, Jackson, Crawford, Monroe, Clinton-Clay -- and most importantly, Jackson. The Missouri crisis of 1820 only served to heighten the sectional differences within the Party and the nation. Continued disenchantment with tariff policy, road and canal projects, currency expansion, and the Bank of the United States were serious issues that sharply divided the Republicans.

The election of 1824, for all practical intents and purposes, killed the Republicans. While Adams' election staved off Jackson for four years, Adams' ascendancy was marked by the appearance of unethical back-room deals which denied the office to the candidate with the highest plurality, Jackson⁵. It was a foregone conclusion by the leaders of all factions that Jackson would win early in 1828.

Jackson's administration marked the end of the Republicans. Jackson's "party" was called the Democrats. The Democrats were able to become the dominant party in the nation until the Civil War winning five of the seven presidential election held between 1828 and 1860.

The chief opposition to the Democrats during the 1828-1856 period was the newly formed Whig Party. Henry Clay was no doubt its most prominent leader, though it was two generals, Harrison and Taylor, who won the Presidency under the Whig banner. Among the other leaders of the Whig Party were John Oning Adams, Horace Greeley, Daniel Webster and William H. Seward.

The Whigs were staunch supporters of a protective tariff, internal improvements and federal control of the currency. Many joined the Whigs because they objected to the "democratic" themes expressed by Jackson. Perhaps the chief issue was the rechartering of the Bank of the United States. The Democrats gleefully killed the Bank, which was perhaps, the Whigs favorite project.

The Whig Party did have many of the same platform planks as the Federalists. The crucial difference, however, lay in its genesis, i.e. its parentage.

Most of the Whigs were ex-Democratic-republicans, not Federalists. The Federalists ran their last real Presidential race in 1800; the Whigs ran their first such contest in 36 years later. There was certainly time enough for a new generation of leaders to arise; leaders with no memory of the Federalists.

Furthermore, the issues were very different. Some of the foreign affairs conflicts dealing with France and Britain had become moot. The war of 1812, the Monroe Doctrine and the notion of manifest destiny had served to focus international concerns elsewhere. As stated previously, the Republicans had borrowed much from the old Federalist platform, rendering many of the planks moot. The liberal-vs-conservative debate over interpretation of the Constitution no longer commanded the same attention.

Perhaps the most striking difference between the Federalists and Whigs lies in the different sectional support each party received. As previously stated, the Federalists were victorious only in the mid-Atlantic and New England states; the Whigs, as we shall soon see, were truly a national party. Many political thinkers have missed this point altogether.

In the two Whig Presidential victories, the South played an important role. In 1840 Harrison carried Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina and Tennessee. In 1848 Taylor carried the same states along with Florida which had entered the Union in the interim. Only Alabama, Arkansas, Missouri, South Carolina and Virginia failed to go Whig in either election. Both Kentucky and Tennessee went Whig in every presidential race from 1836 to 1856.

Not only did the South contribute much to Whig presidential victories, it also sent substantial Whig delegations to Congress. Between 1832 and 1842 southern democrats captured an aggregate of 234 seats; their opponents captured 263. The Whigs dominated in three of the five Southern delegations to Congress. The Democrats controlled only two southern delegations.⁶ Suffice to say that the South enjoyed a rigorous two-party system which greatly helped the Whigs. Southern Whigs represented bankers, merchants, industrialists and large land owners whose interests were often very compatible with Northern business interests.

During the 1830's and 1840's the slavery issue was not foremost in most people's minds, though it was not ignored by thoughtful politicians. Neither party was inclined to adopt a formal position on it, as both parties were national in character. Therefore, former Federalist strongholds in anti-slavery New England voted quite independently. Massachusetts voted Whig in every presidential election from 1836 to 1852, as did Vermont. These were the exact results that occurred in Kentucky and Tennessee. Connecticut voted for the Whig presidential candidate three out of five times during this period, as did Rhode Island. Maine went Whig just once in its history, New Hampshire never did. While New England was not solidly anything, it cannot be considered that the historic Federalist strongholds marched obediently into either camp. During the height of Whig power (1835-1852), the total electoral vote was 142 for the Whigs and 90 for the Democrats. In 1852 only Massachusetts and Vermont went Whig, indicating that the ex-Federalists, if they were ever Whig to begin with, weren't Whig anymore. Abolitionist New England went predominantly Whig, but with considerable two-party friction nonetheless. This is in marked contrast to the earliest days of the United States when New England was one-party Federalist. Clearly the Whigs were able to win in New England due to issues other than slavery, since, as I have noted before, the South was often strongly Whig. Furthermore, as noted before, neither party wanted to tackle the slavery issue head-on.

I have described a number of reasons why the Whigs were not the successors to the Federalists. Sectional differences are the most obvious, though one cannot ignore ideological or time factors in the analysis. But perhaps the most compelling difference of all lies in the adherence, or lack of it, to Party principle. The Whigs were quite willing to run candidates who were popular military figures. They were also willing to bend Party principles to suit the electorate. The Federalists were far more doctrinaire, running only those they deemed fit for office and preferring to sink rather than compromise their principles.⁷

The rest of this essay deals with the myth that the Republicans (hereinafter referred to as the GOP) evolved from the declining Whigs. Later articles appearing in Versus State will deal with the myth of the dying GOP and the counter-myth of the new Republican majority. If the anti-statist movement is to succeed, it must look realistically at our system in order to develop a workable ideology. The present Libertarian Party concept, while possessing a few advantages, is based on erroneous assumptions, not the least of which is the belief that the dying GOP can or will evolve into a new Grand Old Libertarian Party of the U.S.A.

The idea that the Federalists evolved into the Whigs is a myth. Now I will deal with the even more popular myth that the nascent GOP evolved from the wavering Whig Party. This myth is one of the major intellectual crutches for the Libertarian major-party mimicry (as well as for disgruntled conservatives); both these groups are interested in forming a new party to take the place of the GOP. The myth discussed herein is strong evidence that both the groups are wasting their time in a futile exercise.

Where did the Whigs go? To the GOP, correct? Not hardly. This thesis will be attacked from two positions commencing with, "did the nascent GOP get their strength primarily from ex-Whigs?"; and secondly, "did most of the ex-Whigs enlist in the GOP ranks?"

I shall address the second question first. Earlier in this essay it was shown clearly that the Whigs were a national party; and contrary to popular thought, often did well in the South.⁸ If it is true that the Whigs did in fact evolve into the GOP, then it would certainly be the case that their votes would, over time, head for the GOP. However, by 1856 every Southern state was voting Democratic. Only two Southern states, Kentucky and Tennessee, voted Whig in 1852; the others having long since abandoned the Whigs. The GOP made its first bid for the presidency in 1856, after the South had already swung to the Democrats.

The burning issue in the 1850's was slavery. The banking and internal improvement issues which had split the country in the two previous decades, while still important, were no longer foremost in people's minds. Both the Democrats and Whigs, as we shall soon see, were destined to divide on this issue.

The reunion of the nation after 1865 did permit the reunion of the Democrats. But what happened to the Southern Whigs? If it is true that the Whigs descended into the GOP, the South should have had a viable two-party system. After all, these ex-Whig, new GOP voters had done very well in the South.

In his essay, "Persistent Whiggery in the Confederate South 1860-1877", Thomas B. Alexander shows that the pro-union Whigs continued to remain a cohesive, powerful force in the South.⁹ Besides providing an active opposition to the Davis government in the Confederate South, the ex-Whigs were able to govern many Southern states after 1865. Alexander points to the examples of Tennessee and Virginia; in the former the Whigs had 100 of 109 legislative seats in 1865, in the latter the Whigs had all but one seat in the House of Delegates.

Alexander's thesis is that the Whigs remained active throughout the Reconstruction and became the leaders of the new Southern Democrats. The Party of Lincoln was simply unacceptable; the Democrats were viewed as the staunch supporters of white supremacy.

The results of the 1860 presidential election are also instructive in charting the course of the Southern Whigs. Calling themselves the Constitutional Union Party, the Southern Whigs got together and nominated John Bell of Tennessee for president. This new party was able to carry former Whig strongholds Kentucky and Tennessee as well as Virginia. It was only after the southern populus repudiated the Union that the Whigs began, quite successfully, to stay their takeover of the Democrats.

One can see clearly that not all the Whigs marched into the GOP camp. But what of the other question posed at the beginning of this essay: "did the nascent GOP garner the bulk of its support from ex-Whigs?"

The GOP made its first serious for the presidency in 1856. In 1852 the Whigs had already begun to decline, carrying only Kentucky, Tennessee, Vermont and Massachusetts. A fairly important percentage of the vote, (particularly Northern votes) were cast for the Free Soil, and more importantly, the Know-Nothing parties. The GOP was not formed until 1854. Much of the

GOP's growth during the 1850's can be attributed to the demise of the Free Soil and Know Nothings; the Whigs, as stated earlier, were already against the ropes by 1852.

An analysis of the 1856 election shows that much of the GOP support came from states that were Democratic, not Whig. The GOP carried Connecticut, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, Vermont and Wisconsin. Of these Iowa, New Hampshire and Wisconsin had never gone Whig. Maine and Michigan went Whig just once. Only Massachusetts and Vermont had voted Whig four years earlier. In 1860 Pennsylvania, California, Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, and Oregon were added to the GOP column; the last two states having been admitted in the interim. California and Illinois had never voted Whig, Pennsylvania and Indiana went Whig just twice. The GOP gain in Pennsylvania can largely be attributed to the demise of the Know-Nothings, who had been very strong there in 1856.

In the light of this evidence, it seems more reasonable to assume that the GOP grew because of the demise of the Know-Nothings and Free Soilers, the desertion of anti-slavery Democrats, and the desertion of the Northern Whigs. While the GOP's first victorious presidential candidate, Lincoln, was a former Whig, the first victorious vice-presidential candidate, Hamlin, was a former Democrat. In 1864 Lincoln dumped Hamlin and chose Johnson, a Tennessee Democrat, as his running mate, no doubt in order to broaden the base of the GOP still further.

This thesis is all the more plausible when one notes that it was Douglas who opposed Lincoln in 1860. Douglas had angered anti-slavery Democrats with his stand in favor of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which opened the way for slavery in the new federal territories. This, no doubt, encouraged many Northern Democrats to desert their Party at the presidential level, though it should be noted that the Democrats actually gained five seats in the North in 1860.¹⁰

So while the bulk of the Northern Whigs did drift into the GOP, it is certainly not true that the GOP was the descendant of the Whigs. Party affiliation, particularly in the South, underwent such complex and dramatic changes in 1850-1860 period that it is impossible to describe these events by the simplistic thesis that the GOP simply metamorphosed from the Whigs. The Southern Whigs became a cohesive and powerful force in the one-party democratic South. The candidacies of Hamlin and Johnson do not merely support, but also point to the influence of former Democrats in the new GOP.

Former Whig strongholds in the South have not been necessarily more susceptible to GOP inroads. Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana supported Goldwater in 1964. Alabama and South Carolina never went Whig, Mississippi went Whig just once, Louisiana did so twice, Georgia three times. In 1948 Alabama, South Carolina, Louisiana and Mississippi went Dixiecrat. Former Whig stronghold on Kentucky failed to go GOP in either the 1920 or 1952 GOP landslides, and voted for Kennedy in 1960. Virginia never went Whig, yet it went GOP in 1928, 1952, 1956, 1960, 1968, 1972 and 1976. One could go on and on; but a complete survey of southern voting patterns is not necessary to show that southern Whig strongholds were not always the first to break with the one-party democratic system.

The rise of slavery as a national issue effectively destroyed the existing party structure, and molded a new structure with a very different set of political cleavages. The GOP was a response to this new issue, it was not conceived as a new label for the Whigs, who had already declined.

This is significant for it illustrates the problems any new party, conservative or libertarian, will have in supplanting the GOP. An issue like slavery, which tore the nation apart, does not exist in present day America. Neither the depression or Watergate was able to sink the GOP; it is foolish to think that a small group of ideologues can accomplish what Hoover and Nixon could not. Roosevelt in 1912, La Follette in 1924, Thurmond in 1948 and Wallace in 1968 all failed to make any permanent change in the two-party system. Election polls in 1948 and 1968 display a steady drift from third party allegiance as the campaigns progressed.¹¹

The history of party politics in the United States certainly does not give much credibility to those who have dreams of changing party alignments to their liking. The collapse of the Federalist and Whig parties did not occur merely because of shrewd political maneuvering; much more complex phenomena were involved.

The ideological lesson which we should draw from this revisionist historical perspective on the evolution of the two-party system in the United States cannot be a direct sylogistic conclusion i.e. if then, thus, it must be now. Rather, it is important to understand not the impossibility of transforming a third party into one of the Big Two but what the feasibility of such an enterprise is. The simplistic belief in Whig-Republican evolution is not only bad because of the unfounded expectation of analogous GOP-LP metamorphosis, but because it is symptomatic of the intellectual lethargy and political naivety of so many libertarians.

There exists a peculiar syndrome exhibited by many U.S.L.P. activists which combines a "third party" chauvinism with big party mimicry. It would be rather ludicrous, were it not ultimately so sad, to see LP'rs, especially the old guard of minarchist ex-conservatives, hastily reassuring the new wave of young liberalized conservatives that the LP is the reformed GOP of the future while erecting Potemkin Villages of national third party self-sufficiency and integrity.

They just won't do the ideological spade work necessary to determine what is effective in terms of existing conditions. They don't understand the institutions of the political process in their own country and, thus, they are in no position to offer assistance to nascent libertarian political organizations in other countries. LP leaders hope and dream that things will go their way, that the GOP wise men will come to kneel in awe in the Bethlehem of a Libertarian Party. They should know better. There are no free lunches in history or in american politics.

-Galen Tyler

FOOTNOTES TO: "THE GOP"

1. The number of states in the Union did not change between 1796 and 1800. Jefferson's victory was largely the result of a steady northward Republican march into Federalist country.
2. This was Jefferson's own phrase to describe his liberal, loose construction, Constitutional position.
3. An example is Governor Clinton's construction of the Erie Canal in New York.
4. For a further discussion of this conflict, see the article, "James Monroe and the Election of 1808 in Virginia", Williams & Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., Vol XX, pp. 33-56.
5. The 1828 election produced no clear winner, either electorally or in popular vote. It was a four way race. The candidates, Jackson of Tennessee, Adams of Massachusetts, Crawford of Georgia, and Clay of Kentucky finished in the order listed. The House of Representatives had to decide the election from among the top three candidates. Clay, eliminated from further consideration, threw his support to Adams. Five days later Adams named Clay as his Secretary of State. The charge of a corrupt bargain produced political fallout which insured Jackson's victory in 1828.
6. For a further discussion of the Southern Whigs, see the article, "Who Were the Southern Whigs?", American Historical Review, Vol. LIX, pp. 335-346.
7. For a further discussion see "Federalist Leadership: Politics and the Federalist Clergy", pp. 122-147, published in The Hartford Connection: The Federalists and the Origin of Party Politics in Massachusetts 1789-1815 by James M. Buner, Jr.
8. "Who Were the Southern Whigs?", American Historical Review, Vol. LIX, pp. 335-346.
9. See "Persistent Whiggery in the Confederate South 1860-1877" Journal of Souther History, Vol. XXVII, pp. 305-329.
10. See "The Emergence of the One Party South - the Election of 1860", Political Man (New York, Doubleday and Company, 1960), pp. 344-354.
11. A good example is the candidacy of Henry Wallace in 1948. His progressive party was expected by many observers to carry three to five states and several million votes. He ultimately carried no states and less than two million votes.

Religion and Communism

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH AND THE RISE OF LENINSIM. PART I.

This essay describes the relationships between mysticism and altruism in the specific institutional and ecclesiastical development of the Russian Orthodox Church and the formation of a Russian national character highly susceptible to the collectivism and statism of Leninist Bolshevism. My general thesis is that Christianity, logically and historically, has given birth to Communism and Socialism and that the Russian tragedy is a direct result of its Christian development.

The essence of mysticism is its rejection of this world for an anti-world which, in any logical and understandable sense, results in a worship of void and stasis. Our world of phenomenal variety which permits conscious distinctions between things and the experience of triumph and failure is abhorrent to the mystic. This world is despicable to the mystic because it involves separate entities and the direction of self. Mysticism is an attempt to escape the limitations of this world by positing the existence of a non-world which is metaphysically the truthful counterpart of our "counterfeit" existence. Psychologically, mysticism is a response to the natural anxieties and anguishment which accompany the failures of human understanding. As organized religion, mysticism amounts to the perpetuation of a fraudulent panacea for problems which can only be resolved through the systematic practice of individual reasoning. Mysticism requires faith in something which is, by definition, beyond human comprehension and contrary to the consistent application of human cognitive capacities. Philosophically, then, mysticism constitutes a rejection of rational epistemology and a metaphysic which asserts the higher reality of nothingness. Psychologically, it serves as a rationalization which permeates the subconscious inducing a pathetic evasion of the objective requirements of existence, identity and consciousness. The subconscious circumvention of reality permits a self-deception necessary to avoid the painful consequences of arbitrary and irrational standards. Politically, the abdication of personal cognitive authority engendered by mysticism, and the wholesale abandonment of rational integrity as a consequence, permits a wholesale duping of the masses and the rationalization of arbitrary authority and coercion.

Whereas mysticism requires a rejection of this world, its ethical correlative, altruism, requires a rejection of one's rational self-interest. Altruism, in its quintessential meaning, is not ultimately concerned with the problem of mutual betterment (although it is often portrayed as such) but with consciously living against oneself as a lifelong rite of self-rejection and sacrifice. The corrosive anguish and self-loathing generated by altruism is the motivation for envy and the age-old intellectual and ideological attack on every expression of rational egoism. On a mass scale, it has been the motivational fuel and the ideological engine of prejudice and political repression against individualist, free-market capitalism. Modern collectivism is an outgrowth of mysticism and altruism -- it constitutes a furious

reaction to the historical challenge presented by industrial capitalism and rational egoism. It is, in essence, a modern transmogrification of the messianic-Judaism transformed by the Russian messianic religious mentality into Bolshevik Communism.

In an earlier article (see "MACS: the Killer Ideas" Versus State, volume I #2) I advanced the idea of the "Authoritarian Complex" which relates mysticism, altruism, collectivism and statism as an interrelated and concatenating system of pathologies. Rather than dismissing these merely as a disconnected jumble of erroneous theories, as many are wont to do, I have treated the MACS elements as cause and effect components which must be understood and mastered not only to provide an ultimate resolution of what happened in history, but to define our course for the future. Mysticism is not an accidental miscarrying of human reason reappearing over and over again in the course of history. It is a complex of attitudes which has been invented, exploited, diffused and transmogrified in the highly successful enterprise of enslaving the mass of humanity. These attitudes and their intellectual rationalizations are not "innocent" coincidences, they are not "honest" intellectual mistakes, at least they are not in our age.

The Authoritarian Complex is a consciously understood and well organized conspiracy to prevent the mass of individuals from seizing their own destinies against the counterfeit authority and paper-tiger power of the Christo-Marxist ruling class. This is not to declare that the conspiracy of the Authoritarian Complex is necessarily a tightly knit or hierarchically directed group united for the achievement of one objective. It appears more like a loose oligarchy of competing factions maneuvering for position but always on guard against their dreaded common ideological enemies: rational egoism, anarchism and laissez-faire capitalism. There is overwhelming evidence of the existence of (at the very least) a loose international association of power brokers, involving both secular and religious leaders, including financiers, socialists, communists and fascists. There can be little doubt, for instance, of a massive system of collusion and manipulation between the Carter Administration and the Trilateral Commission, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations.

The network of coercive and arbitrary political and economic power, however, depends on a web of intellectual rationalizations and cultural attitudes which have diffused geographically and have been reinforced by religious and political institutions. Perhaps the most awesome example of this lies in the historical development of the Russian Orthodox Church and the rise of Soviet Bolshevik Communism. Nowhere are the links between religious mysticism, cultural altruism and totalitarian collective-statism more clearly evident than in the history of Russia.

Russian Christians have portrayed themselves as staunch opponents of Communism and Bolshevism. This continues today in the Christian dissident movement in the Soviet Union. Emigré Russians, of whom the most famous is undoubtedly Alexandre Solzhenitsyn, have denounced the totalitarian communist state as the antithesis of russo-christian spiritual life.¹ This view is fundamentally erroneous.

Lenin's Bolshevik take-over in Russia is the direct outcome of chris-

tian thought in Russia precisely as it developed from the eleventh century. Christianity in Russia enervated the Russian people and it established the pathetic acceptance (and even the adoration) of absolute despotism. It was partially responsible for producing the vehement reaction against the incipient formation of an industrial capitalist economy in late nineteenth century Russia. Bolshevism is Russian Christianity denuded of its spiritual veneer and magnified in its xenophobia, contempt for reason and intellect, law and property, anti-egoist mania, anti-bourgeois and anti-jewish prejudices. It is the historical, emotional and intellectual fulfillment of Russian messianic Christianity in its eschatological passion to destroy and replace the primacy of the Roman Church. It is a centuries-old Russian Christian hatred of western culture, intellect, industry, science and commerce expressed and continuously nurtured by Russian Orthodox Patriarchs and Saints. At the core of this has been an unabated loathing for the western bourgeoisie and an evangelical, bible thumping hatred for Russian Jews who in Russian ecclesiastical works, occupy the position of an abominated bourgeois people. The Jews and the Jewish nation, in Russian Christian theory, are targeted for contempt by all biblically-deprived peoples for reasons similar with Lenin's vehement hatred of Switzerland and western capitalism.

The development of Russian Christianity is distinguishable from European Christian churches by several important predisposing conditions. The most important being the remoteness of Russian culture from the cosmopolitan influences of western Europe and the Mediterranean cultures. Another major difference, in part caused by the first, is the lack of emphasis on abstract reasoning in Russian literature. Nowhere can be found an attempt to bring reason and philosophy into play as is in the West with St. Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century.² The great impact of the Aristotelian revival is completely missing in Russia.

In western Europe, the mystical-altruist, anti-world forces, represented in the Manichaean-Waldensian-Albigensian heretical movements, were always countered by the forces of a quasi-rational, romanized (and later aristotelianized) church, and a flourishing bourgeoisie.³ The forces of martyrdom and self-sacrifice, so infamously represented by the mendicant orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans, were ultimately moderated by such as the Benedictines and Jesuits. In Western Europe, the conflicting ethnic diversity, the near-anarchy of political divisions, the quasi-balance of power between feudal lords, free burghers, the church and its numerous religious orders, not to speak of the vast intellectual heritage of competing paradigms -- Platonism, Aristotelianism, the heresies of Arianism, Nestorianism and all of the Persian, Egyptian, Byzantine, Islamic religious-artistic variety -- all of this counteracted the enervating and self-consuming madness inherent in messianic Christian mysticism. No analogue to these conditions has ever existed in Russia.

My thesis has the unwitting collaboration of Russian Christian scholars. The work of George P. Fedotov provides a detailed account of the development of early Christian thought from its inception in the tenth century to the age of the Tartar Yoke.⁴ Fedotov detects a strong inclination towards collectivism even in the pre-Christian Russian paganism. He explains that Russian pagan thought omitted the notion of individual immortality and consciousness: "For the freedom and will of the individual there is left very little place. The

consciousness of personality, of its own ways, vocations, and rights developed tardily...both in pagan and in Christian times. This is the deepest religious root of Russian collectivism."(p. 17).

Superimposed on this primitive collectivist oriental paganism was to be the peculiar disposition of the Byzantine Orthodoxy. If the Roman Catholic suffered from other-worldly madness, the Greek Church promoted an emotional approach to spiritual salvation which at once insulated the Russian Church from a search for intellectual rationales and promoted an unresolvable personal dilemma for its adherents. The Byzantine Church, in contrast to the Roman, perpetuated an oscillation between sacramentalist and transcendentalist tendencies. Meaning that salvation (and release from personal anxiety) could not be attained merely by "good works" but by transcendentalist means i.e. "...the consciousness of one's unworthiness, and the unmerited grace of God." (p.34).

The lack of intellectual development and concern for ratiocinate thought is accompanied very early by a fascination for mythology and eschatological theories. Fedotov notes the unbalanced interest in the "...writings on the Antichrist" (p. 49). He remarks that: "Religious cosmology and history, based upon eschatological backgrounds, were the two theoretical poles of the Russian mind, devoid as it was of metaphysical or rational thought." (p. 50). This tendency, by the way, is strongly exhibited in Lenin nearly eight-hundred years later.

The strong and pervading fascination with all-enveloping theories on the final outcome of history and the notion of a special messianic mission for the Russian people was accompanied by a detestation for the Jews which closely parallels Marxist hatred of the bourgeoisie. It is easy to understand how the early Russian Orthodox pariahization of the Jews for their "stiff-necked" skepticism and rejection of the Messiahhood of Christ could be and ultimately was transferred to a class pariahization of the industrial capitalist and bourgeois classes.

In St. Hilarion's writings of the eleventh century, can be detected a precursive hatred for law and property. The thesis of Lenin's Imperialism is essentially captured in St. Hilarion's work if we transpose Bourgeoisie in place of Jew, and proletariat in place of Christian in this quote by Fedotov: "Jews were justified by shadow and Law; Christians are not justified, but save by Truth and Grace; for the Jews, justification is in this world; for us salvation in the age to come; the Jews rejoiced in earthly goods, but the Christians in heavenly; also, the Jewish justification was limited because of envy, for it did not extend to other peoples...the salvation of Christians is liberal and bountiful, stretching to all countries of the earth." No doubt St. Hilarion would have understood the internationalist aspirations of Marx and Lenin and certainly he would have applauded Lenin's expulsion of the Jewish Bund and the persecution of Trotsky.

In Hilarion's thought can be noted a complete primacy of anthropological and eschatological concern. It is not enough merely to meet sacramental, and transcendentalist requirements for personal salvation but it must, according to him, serve as preparation for a world historical end. The rejection of Christ by the Jews, God's chosen, is not only the burden and opportunity in the resurrection for the non-chosen peoples but an eschatological duty. This world-historical mission becomes the primary moral element of Leninist Bolshevism

which is the direct fulfillment of St. Hilarion.

The strange engrossment of Russian Orthodox theologians with the "Jewish Problem" and its stress on anti-Jewish polemics is characteristic to the present. It can be partially understood by the geopolitical threat of the powerful Khazar state which occupied much of what is today southern Russia.⁵ The presence of the Jewish-Kazhar state and a Jewish population in southern Russia and eastern Europe has always been resented by slavic nationalists. Early chronicles are replete with xenophobia and extreme envy against the generally more literate and skilled Jewish traders. This anti-judaic feeling resulted in the establishment of the Jewish Pale -- a zone restricting the settlement of Jews and defining their economic pursuits. Violent pogroms against the Jews under the Tsars have been replaced by more covert repression under the Soviet regime. The continued Russian Christo-Marxist loathing for the Jews is no better exemplified than in the creation of a Jewish communist homeland -- Birobidjan -- in eastern Siberia. It is not far-fetched to understand the Bolshevik Trotsky jewish betrayal as analogue to the Judas of Christianity in regards to the Marxist savior Lenin.

The psychopathology of altruist self-sacrifice is developed to an extreme in the Russian national saints Boris and Gleb. In Russian context of despotic absolutism, self-sacrifice takes on direct statist relevance. Historically, Boris and Gleb were the younger sons of Prince Vladimir of Kiev in the eleventh century, both of whom willingly submitted to being slaughtered by their older brother Sviatopolk as an act of christianly humility and "love". Fedotov ably summarizes the peculiar russianized form of state altruism: "...the idea of sacrifice, distinct from heroic martyrdom, stands out with particular force; here it is purified from all practical morality, even from the idea of the courageous fulfillment of duty..." (p. 103). The national sainthood of Boris and Gleb eulogized and established a cultural personality based on a veneration of total submission to cruel and obvious injustice. It is not merely a resignation to an evil fate but a pervertedly ecstatic masochism on a national scale.

-Richard R. Slomon

Footnotes to: Religion and Communism

1. I have already started uncovering the monstrous contradictions of a number of key Soviet dissident authors. See my article "Wrong Signposts: A Russian Tragedy" Versus State, Volume 1, #2.
2. See Josef Pieper, Guide to Thomas Aquinas, English translation, Random House, Inc., 1962.
3. Good background on the heresies, Karl Adam, The Christ of Faith: The Christology of the Church, English translation, Pantheon Books, 1957.
4. George P. Fedotov, The Russian Religious Mind: Kievan Christianity: the 10th to the 13th Centuries, Harvard University Press, 1946.
5. Arthur Koestler, The Thirteenth Tribe: The Khazar Empire and Its Heritage, Random House, 1976.

SLOMON SPEAKS: (continued from page 16)

But if the Miller Doctrine is a supreme abdication of reason and justice, 335 is a glowing example of me-too-ism and village idiocy. In a mixture of self-conscious revivals of archaic statutes such as the Red Light Abatement Law of 1913, and modern legal mumbo-jumbo, it's supporters hope to sneak in the old-time religion of moral nuisance laws. It not only amplifies all of the mistakes of the Miller Doctrine but adds many of its own. For instance, nowhere does it define "contemporary community standards" or the mythical "average person" so necessary to its implementation. Obviously, the 335 people feel these can be left to the discretion and imagination of our local judges, who are well-known for their sober and objectively aloof decisions! Under 335, any citizen can threaten a proprietor with closure merely by posting a \$500 bond. Not only does a proprietor have no objective way of assessing prior whether he is in compliance with the law as it is problematic what is "patently offensive" to whom, but if the materials do not comprise "a principal stock in trade" (whatever that means!) then these same materials no longer constitute a moral nuisance. Obviously, the legal logic of 335's authors is no better than their moral-ethical logic. In everyday terms, 335 would permit the supermarket or a department store to sell hardcore porno as a minor adjunct but it would confiscate a magazine dealer on First Avenue for selling identical materials. A proprietor can have confiscated all of his fixtures, furniture, every cent he's ever made and still be liable to criminal penalties on top of it. But it's no surprise that the same people who are willing to sacrifice the essential integrity of their fundamental moral premises should fail to avoid the grossest of procedural improprieties at the level of law. For those for whom the ends justify the means, as is the case with the 335 people, there is no end to the unjust coercion which can be undertaken in the name of the collective good.

And for those who are not impressed by abstract arguments consider what prohibition of booze did for racketeering. 335 will create a ready-made black market monopoly for organized crime. It will decrease tax revenues by millions of dollars, add millions in court costs and burden the already overloaded case load of our justice system. Driving the market underground, as 335 would, threatens to involve underage youth on a mass scale in illicit sales and production of porn. 335 is wrong at all levels, morally, constitutionally, legally, and in every conceivable practical sense.

POLITICAL ANALYSIS: (continued from page 9)

both the objective characteristics of the political-economy and the psychological disposition of the population are thoroughly understood. We advise that PAC's in other states commence their analysis of political phenomena. This is the only way to achieve a sound approach. This article is a small step towards that objective.

-Richard R. Slomon

The lesson in all this boils down to building a fund of knowledge on the personalities, groups, dispositions and connections existing in state politics before entering on a course of action! Every effort should be made to interview people in the know. Regular demographic and precinct analysis are important but insufficient. A political fight should never be fought because it has to be fought, but because it is advantageous. Choose carefully where and what you want to fight. In special interest campaigns the following rules are good to follow: (1) know the situation in depth -- legally, socially, economically and politically; (2) know your "friends" and enemies; (3) hit hard and fast -- attack with particulars, confuse your opponent's allies, demoralize opponent's supporters, always make your forces appear larger than they actually are; (4) find friends in the media -- give them "inside info"; (5) demand money constantly; (6) keep close tabs on what is happening in the opposition camp -- find divisions if possible and work on them.

In sum, this entire article has been constructed to serve as an ideological object-lesson for libertarians. Special interest group tactics are not easy. They require immense amounts of specialized knowledge not found in libraries or in philosophy texts. They are also of critical value to the successful election of candidates within the present system of government in the U.S. The Libertarian Party will not likely have a successful campaign to elect a candidate to office until its personnel have mastered SIG tactics at the local level. Capitalist political fighters must school themselves diligently in strategy and tactics, or their philosophy will remain out of influence and impotent in the real world of ideological matters.

-Angela Basta

PROBLEMS IN WONDERLAND

This issue of Versus State is our largest and probably our best to date. Significantly, the content reflects a growing corpus of political investigation and experience. The work which has gone into PAC I and PAC II has required thousands of hours -- in the course of which -- most of our original cadre of supporters have returned to "civilian life". Trying to sustain even a small part-time commitment to political action beyond a couple months apparently proves too much for most libertarians. In this case, a large cluster stayed on for over six months -- which must be a record for these erstwhile freedom fighters.

We, the hardcore, recognized this problem early and did our best to prepare for the turnover in personnel. In spite of our meager resources, we held regional conferences and published our ideological organ. To the effect, that our methods are being studied as far away as Australia, Rhodesia and Canada and our recruitment extends to California, Texas and New York.

This is not to speak of our considerable activities in our home base -- we are the only libertarian group in the Northwest (and perhaps the country) since the MacBride campaign, which has been able to gain steady access to the electronic and print media. In spite of these accomplishments, we have experienced the most outrageous irresponsible conduct and ridiculous excuses. Nearly everyone of these persons have been self-professed libertarians -- some of whom have broken written contractual agreements.

Our conclusion is that most libertarians are incapable of sustained, disciplined political work. In spite of their loud grouching about state power and the ominous worldwide spread of totalitarian regimes, most of these people are unwilling to organize effectively in the political realm. Thus, our approach is to recruit political activists from the Right and the Left and to reprogram them ideologically. It is more fruitful to re-educate experienced political workers than it is to politically activate most libertarians.

We want to build a mass political movement capable of abolishing the State and replacing its coercive apparatus with voluntarist institutions. This can be achieved in our lifetime but we must have the long-term, dedicated support of a political cadre. We ask you to make a commitment of time, money and energy to the Political Action Caucus. Send us your contributions now! Organize in your area now! Inform your friends about our work.

The Political Action Caucus

next issue:

RELIGION AND COMMUNISM - Part II -- examines the religious and intellectual climate of nineteenth-century Russia and its meaning for the rise of Leninist Bolshevism. Here is presented conclusive and undeniable evidence of the direct psychological conditioning of an entire population by Christian teachings predisposing them towards totalitarian collective statism.

ANARCHO-CAPITALIST MILITARY SERVICE -- can an anarcho-capitalist system provide adequate area defense for the United States in the nuclear era? This question has vexed anarcho-capitalist philosophers and has up until now remained the "hard problem". For the first time, a thorough solution which fits projected conditions of post-revolutionary North America is provided. This article will doubtlessly become a historical landmark in anarcho-capitalist literature!

INCEST DECRIMINALIZATION -- the incest taboo is the most ancient and irrational form of social welfare coercion. Voluntary incest should be decriminalized. This daring article is not merely a virtuoso piece of libertarian logic but develops an analysis of human family structure and its functional relationship within evolved social systems. Endogamic sexuality may be the essence of capitalist family structure.

RIGHTWING INEPTITUDE -- This probing article looks inside conservative politics for reasons why the "Right" has failed to gain victory in spite of growing constituency in the U.S. It tentatively concludes that anti-statists may be better off joining the Democratic Party!

RHODESIA'S LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT -- provides an inside view of some exciting developments in that war-torn country!

PS: BARNEY STEEL'S ARTWORK WILL BE ADORNING FUTURE ISSUES OF VERSUS STATE!